

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Venture

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Comment

ACTION IN MALAYA

MALAYA'S Anti-Bandit Month ended officially on 2nd April. Nearly 500,000 volunteered, but the 'month' led to the intensification of bandit attacks. Positive steps are, however, to continue. More planes, armoured vehicles and troops are going in to strengthen Government forces, and General Briggs has been appointed to co-ordinate the activities of the military and the police, with direct responsibility to the High Commissioner. In Singapore a Communist 'plot' has been revealed, but in Britain the political waters have remained undisturbed by the British Communist Party's call to the workers to organise 'an all-out sustained demand throughout the country to stop the war in Malaya.' The Secretary of State has expressed his intention to go to Malaya and was able to state in the House of Commons debate on April 6 that 'there is a growing and increasing co-operation' with Siam in preventing movements across the Siamese border. Meanwhile the long-term problem is being tackled on the spot. As Radio Malaya is constantly preaching, it has to be proved 'that democracy can put forward a better practical scheme for living than Communism,' and for this the people have to see democracy being built. Dato Onn, leader of the United Malays' National Organisation, is reported to have put forward proposals for the appointment to the Executive Council of a number of unofficials with departmental responsibility. It is to be hoped that consideration will also be given to the possibility of electing members of the Legislative Council. One hopeful development is that the Communities Liaison Committee has put forward new proposals for citizenship, to replace the earlier arrangements

under the Federation Agreement. Politically, this is one of the most urgent needs, particularly for the Chinese, who cannot be expected to remain indefinitely in the country but not of it, and we hope that the British and Federation Governments will grasp the nettle boldly. The steps that the Malayan people need to take certainly require great political and physical courage, but they are taking them. A Malayan Trade Union Council has been formed, which its members hope to be able to keep 'free and independent of political or external influence.' It has established a democratic structure for its own organisation, and has decided to join the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to maintain close contact with the British T.U.C. With past experience of terrorism in the trade unions, it was thought necessary to hold the proceedings in a building guarded by a strong force of police. Malaya is now awaiting Government action on three more questions: the permanent maintenance of the anti-bandit volunteer organisation, the appointment of larger numbers of Chinese police, and further measures for the resettlement of squatters. These are measures that only the Government can take, but the job to be done in Malaya is a co-operative one: unless the Government demonstrates its capacity to maintain order it is useless to expect defenceless squatters to refuse food to armed bandits; unless the people assist the Government with information and active help no forces can prevent the bandits from retreating to the jungle and coming out only when in need. The purely negative and repressive measures urged in the debate in the House of Commons can provide no solution to the problem, as has been amply demonstrated everywhere else in Asia where such a policy has been pursued. But strong measures are necessary—it would be a scandalous thing if Malayan civilians who rallied to support what is, after all, a foreign government, should be murdered as a result.

WARNING FROM SOUTH AFRICA

From the point of view of outside public opinion, Dr. Malan could hardly have chosen a worse moment to announce his intention of taking up negotiations with the British Government on the transfer to the Union of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. The full implications of *apartheid* are becoming daily clearer—Anglican clergy have spoken out against the Mixed Marriages Act and the Roman Catholic Church is adopting the view that the State has no right on grounds of race to annul marriages solemnised by the Church, while the National Registration Bill is being attacked on all sides, even by Europeans who are sufficiently uncertain of their ancestry to fear being classed as Coloured. The recent conference of the Dutch Reformed Churches stirred up more trouble by resolving in favour of true *apartheid*, which would involve the substitution of European for African labour in European areas, a policy which Dr. Malan subsequently described in Parliament as 'ideal, but not the policy of the Nationalist Party.' As South Africa travels further and further along the road marked out by Nazi Germany, everyone can see the issues at stake in the Protectorates. If Britain should fail to stand by these Africans no voice in the world, outside South and Central Africa, will be raised in our defence.

KENYA JUBILEE

FIFTY years after the first municipal regulations were drafted for Nairobi, Kenya's first city has been granted a royal charter and has received it from the hands of its first freeman, the Duke of Gloucester. It was a pioneer's celebration, for all the people of Nairobi are pioneers, 10,000 Europeans, 40,000 Indians and Goans, and roughly 70,000 Africans. Europeans and Indians came in substantial numbers with the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway; Africans have moved in from their tribal lands as the city has grown with the expansion of settlement, trade and administration. The city of Nairobi is a symbol of Kenya's capacity: it is also a symbol of Kenya's problem. It is run by a Municipal Council on which sit elected Indians and Europeans and two nominated Africans. Educated Africans are already asking for the right to elect their representatives, but neither they nor anyone else pretends that the introduction of elections is an easy matter. The decision will have to be taken soon by the European community: is Nairobi going to pioneer in politics as well as in city building? Will the Europeans take the risks involved in agreeing to democratic rights for the Africans or will they prefer to risk

the progressive embitterment of the politically conscious African elements—elements that will grow in numbers whatever the Europeans do or do not do? At present, it seems as though hysteria has swept over the Kenya Europeans because someone in Tanganyika has suggested that Europeans and Indians should vote on a common electoral roll. Appeals to Mr. Welensky, Sir Godfrey Huggins and even to Dr. Malan have rent the air. All of this is heard by the Africans and by the Indians, and its implications are thoroughly understood. Can Nairobi not celebrate the attainment of its new status by tackling the problem of representation within its own Council? It could give a lead to Kenya as a whole, which will soon have to do the same for its Legislative and Executive Councils. Can Nairobi do it peacefully and generously, remembering that all pioneers have to face dangerous obstacles, but that it is a characteristic of their kind to *face* them?

TRINIDAD'S CONSTITUTION

AT long last the Order in Council embodying Trinidad's new constitution has been issued, and general elections are expected in September this year. The changes introduced are not world-shaking by any means. A Speaker is to replace the Governor in the chair in the Legislative Council, which will have 18 elected members instead of the existing nine. But there will still be nominated seats—a feature most bitterly opposed by the Trinidad progressive movements—though their number is reduced from six to five. For some reason it is still thought necessary to insist on an income or property qualification for the elected members. In the Executive Council, there will be three officials, one nominated member and five members of the Legislative Council. The Governor may allocate departments to the non-official members, who will become Ministers, though there is no question of Cabinet responsibility on British lines. Nor will there be a Prime Minister: the Legislative Council will itself elect the Executive Council members, by contrast with the much less rigid system proposed for the Gold Coast by the Coussy Committee, who recommend that the Legislative Council should elect only the leader, who would then, in consultation with the Governor, choose the rest. The Trinidad and Tobago Trades Union Council has already declared its opposition to the new constitution, but is not proposing to boycott the elections. Their candidates, if elected, will carry on their campaign for greater responsibility and will stand a good chance of uniting public opinion behind them. Trinidad cannot for long accept less than is already being enjoyed in Jamaica and Barbados.

CO-ORDINATION OR DIVIDED POLICY

EVENTS all over the colonial Empire are facing the British Labour movement with the realities of power. Hunger and revolution in Asia, colour bar in East and Central Africa, rising nationalism in West Africa, frustration in the West Indies—these are inextricably entangled with defence, Western Union, the balance of payments and the British cost of living, and to ignore one part of the pattern, or even to leave it aside till there may be more time to tackle it, does not help us one whit. The relative lack of public interest in colonial problems was demonstrated in constituency after constituency during the general election, though the subsequent appointment of Mr. James Griffiths to the Colonial Office showed clearly that the department is not regarded as a home for ministers in transit to higher posts, as it was so frequently regarded before the war. Then there came the wave of indignation in sympathy with Seretse Khama. The heart of the movement is as sound as ever it was, but the conclusion is inescapable that only a very small number of the rank and file regard colonial problems as an integral part of the whole problem of Britain's advance towards a more just and free society. Colonies, except in the broadest possible sense, are regarded as a field for the specialist, by contrast with education, trade union questions, or nationalisation of coal. Other parties, of course, are worse—it was one of the horrifying experiences of the election to hear Conservative candidates talking in one breath of the irresponsibility of the Labour Government in paying back sterling balances so rapidly to India and Pakistan, and in the next demanding an all-out opposition to Communism in Asia. But Socialists, of all people, must see their politics whole, and there have been one or two incidents recently which reveal how far we have to go.

West Indian Sugar

One outstanding example has been the case of West Indian sugar. The history of the sugar negotiations (see *Venture*, February, 1950) show that the British Government has a reasonable case. One West Indian newspaper¹, without going the whole way with the Ministry of Food, has pointed out that commercial gains in the sugar industry have

not always in the past been reflected in better conditions for its workers, and also stated, in commenting on Britain's refusal to buy the whole West Indian export at a guaranteed price for ten years,

'the fact that 71 per cent of this exportable surplus will find a guaranteed market at a guaranteed price in Britain is a great improvement on the pre-war period when West Indian sugar was left to the vagaries of the so-called "free market" . . . the fact that a large proportion of the "free sugar" could find a profitable market in Canada reinforces this security.'

In other words, the West Indian producers have more security than they have ever had before, and have reasonably been asked to make every effort, by increased efficiency, to compete in the world market on a commercial basis for the 29 per cent of the exportable surplus which Britain is unwilling to guarantee at a bulk purchase price.

But the matter does not end there. The West Indies will have to compete with Cuba, whose prices are, in effect, subsidised. The West Indian economy needs to be diversified, so that there shall not be complete reliance on sugar, but this diversification has not yet been achieved. Meanwhile, like the rest of the sterling area, the West Indian Colonies have to cut down their dollar purchases, and often have to buy more expensive British goods. In the House of Commons on April 3, Mr. Stanley Evans, the new Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, said rightly that the British consumer cannot pay high prices for everything imported and then try to win markets by selling exports cheaply: 'Britain cannot be a high-price consumer and a low-cost producer.' Precisely. Neither can the West Indies. On this issue, we have seen the rare spectacle of unity between the sugar estate owners and the trade unions, but the British Government feels unable to discuss the matter further. Representatives of all the interests involved, including the colonial Governments, have met in Grenada and announced their intention of sending a deputation to Britain. His Majesty's Government, said Mr. Morrison in the House of Commons, 'will be willing to receive it, but they regret that they can hold out no prospect whatever of amending their offer.'

¹ *Public Opinion*, Jamaica, January 21, 1950.

The British Government must have considered all the possible repercussions of this decision, yet it is not the first time that the impression has been created that the Colonial Office has fought for the interests of the Colonies and has been over-riden by the Ministry of Food. The cost of living for the British worker has already gone higher than it can tolerably go. Yet sooner or later someone must explain that there can be economic stability in the world only if under-developed countries are helped from outside, and that this help cannot be given *painlessly* by Britain or the United States or anybody else. We do not suggest that the whole burden of this development should be carried by British consumers: we merely point out that when the cost of living or the dollar gap are discussed in the Labour Party the Colonies should be included in that discussion on *every* occasion. At present they are not.

Similarly, in foreign and Commonwealth policy, the Colonies must be considered. Does co-operation in Western Europe imply co-operation between the European powers in Africa? If it does, can we find a compromise between French and British and Belgian policies in Africa, and do we *want* to find a compromise? Will that be in the

best interests of the African people? Do our defence plans in Africa take into account the mounting racial crisis in South and East Africa? Are they based on white South African support, and if they are, is Britain prepared to face the alienation of black Africans, not only in East and Central Africa, but in West Africa as well? Any day now Dr. Malan may present to the British Government his demand for the transfer of the three Protectorates to the Union of South Africa. Meanwhile, across East and Central Africa, European extremists are getting together on a racial platform. There must be no appeasement of these elements. The British people cannot sacrifice the friendship of Africans and Negroes all over the world, for the sake of the immediate danger of risking a break with South Africa.

The Labour movement, however, must recognise that such a danger does exist, just as the danger of higher prices in Britain exists if a policy of economic betterment is carried out in the Colonies. Our Government is entitled to know that the whole movement has thought out the implications of such policies. Its hands will be immensely strengthened if all through the movement we can see things whole.

AID TO ASIA?

By Hilda Selwyn-Clarke

'THIS is a poor time to be caught walking backward into the future.' This comment of Edgar Snow's¹ might well be used as a motto for the Conference of Commonwealth representatives meeting in Sydney on May 15. At the Colombo Conference the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Spender, put forward the suggestion that the Commonwealth countries, with American aid if possible, should join together in giving economic aid to South Asia. The task of the Sydney Conference will be to make practical proposals.

As was pointed out in the March number of *Venture*, the approach to this problem should be based on the needs of the people of Asia, not, as so often in American propaganda, on the attempt to contain Communism.

There are major political as well as economic issues to be considered. Indeed, if any success

is to be achieved in the development of the productive capacity of Asiatic countries and the promotion of trade, the political issues must at the same time, be solved. The need for land reform and resentment at political inferiority have been long-standing grievances in Southern Asia. The war and the Japanese occupation precipitated what Mr. Acheson, American Secretary of State, has described as 'the revulsion against misery and poverty' and 'the revulsion against foreign domination.' It must be recognised that no native leadership, however popular it may be, will last unless the nationalist struggle goes hand in hand with a social revolution to meet the demands of the peasants. In spite of full-scale American support, the Nationalist régime collapsed in China, and the French in Indo-China are not likely to defeat Viet Minh by relying on American military aid. The old semi-feudal landlord economy cannot be maintained in Southern Asia, even with help from abroad.

¹ *The Nation*, January 28, 1950.

Economic development will not, however, be easy. There is no large capitalist class in existence in these territories. Such capitalist development as has taken place is in the hands of European firms or immigrants like the Indians of Burma or the Chinese in Malaya. The new governments in Indonesia and Burma are based on a coalition of peasants, small farmers, an embryo working-class, intellectuals and civil servants. But nationalist fear and suspicion of Western domination will make it impossible for foreign-owned mines, utilities, and plantations to be a permanent feature of the ex-colonial countries. The pattern can be most clearly seen in Burma, where owing to civil war, the Burma Government has turned to Britain for a loan and is eager to receive further help from the Commonwealth, but is apparently powerless to check the constant attack on British companies in Burma.

The Pressure of Population

The third problem for consideration in Sydney is the pressure of population. Last year the population of Japan was estimated at 82m., as against a satisfactory level of 50m.¹ China has a long-term food problem, especially urgent now through famine conditions and the disintegration of food production as the result of civil war. Population problems are not confined to the China Seas—Java and India are both afflicted. These countries have no outlet. Large-scale immigration into Africa is not possible without prejudicing the future of the Africans. Australia encourages European immigrants but refuses to allow settlement by coloured people. Yet within Southern Asia itself, there are undeveloped lands which could be settled, principally in the British Colonies. Economic development could be assisted in Borneo and Sarawak by the importation of skilled labour, but the political problems that would be created, as they have already been created in Malaya, might well override the economic advantages.

Outside aid alone cannot help. What Southern Asia needs is technical assistance from the outside and social reform from within. Uncultivated lands can be brought into production. Improved agricultural implements, more wells and irrigation could increase food production by the peasants. Assistance in the organisation of producing and marketing co-operatives would improve efficiency and save the peasant from exploitation. Protein deficiency in the diet of millions of people demands improved methods of fishing and curing. The

¹ *The Times*, March 8, 1950.

Japanese exploited the China Seas in this way before the war, and East Africa is to benefit from the British development of deep-sea fishing in the Indian Ocean. Similar steps should be taken for South-east Asia. The possibilities of industrial development should also be studied. For consumption needs, it is urgent that decisions should be taken on the supply of cheap household goods and textiles—at present, necessarily from Japan.

There can be no large-scale demands on Commonwealth capital. Indeed, Britain's post-war contribution in loans to Burma, repayment of sterling balances to India, and Colonial Development expenditure in Malaya, Borneo and Sarawak, might well have to be cut down. Some Americans are already suggesting that the United States might take the initiative in the creation of a United Nations Development Bank which could make grants and loans, so that the governments of South Asia contracted a responsibility to an international body. Such a move might meet the suspicion of domination from the United States and European powers.

The Commonwealth Conference should recognise that Southern Asia cannot be wholly committed to one side in a divided world. Mr. Nehru was speaking not only for India but for South-east Asia when he said, 'It seems to me an extraordinary presumption to ask me to join this block or that block.' British and American politicians are obsessed with the 'cold war.' Asiatic countries wish to be left alone by the West and by the Soviet Union to work out their own problems. They are not prepared to be the pawns of any bloc policy and only disinterested help suited to their economic needs could be acceptable.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COLONIES

A Report to the Fabian Colonial Bureau

Edited by

RITA HINDEN

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ALL the signs point to a fresh wave of crises in colonial areas, and a consequent shift of the epicentre to other pages of this journal: increasing pressure from the United Nations, increasing Communist strength in Malaya, Seretse the symbol of race relations in the Commonwealth, the Afrikaner threat to Central and East Africa, Anglo-Italian tension in Eritrea and Libya, the problem of sugar prices for the West Indies and Mauritius: all these outweigh more traditional events, like the new constitution for Trinidad, or the report on closer co-operation in the Caribbean. One may sum this phase up by saying that the Colonies almost seem to be coming under the Foreign Office; and it is to the Foreign Office that Economic Co-operation Administration officials, mainly American, repeat their criticisms of British colonial policy, especially in East Africa; while *The Voice of America* is now to be heard over Radio Nigeria every Monday evening.



IN the main area of conflict, S.E. Asia, the first conference of Ministers of the Dutch-Indonesian Union opened at Jakarta on March 26, to discuss the future of Irian (Dutch New Guinea), a Union court of arbitration, a Dutch military mission in Java, and economic questions. Dutch colonial officials were largely behind a recent move at devaluation, by which all currency notes are halved in value by the simple expedient of tearing, the right half to act as a voucher for subscriptions for a compulsory 40-year loan. If this measure succeeds, it will be a tribute to the central power, now menaced by a rising in the Celebes (Eastern Indonesia) as well as in Western Java, where a Sultan has been arrested for support of Westering, and Jakarta has reverted to the Republic. There is also increased tension in Viet-Nam, where three Ministers of Bao Dai resigned after demonstrations and bomb-attacks in Saigon against American aid. A press campaign against the new régime is also reported from the North (Tongking) and the extreme South (Cochin China), among the papers of the *Caodai* sect, who have hitherto supplied most valued support to the French. The murderers of Duncan Stewart have

been executed in Sarawak, of which the new *Mass Education Bulletin*, published by the London University Institute of Education, gives happier news with the community project at Kanowit, where twenty-five married couples are learning agriculture and homecraft at a model 'long house.' Meanwhile, in Hong Kong, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce stated that Hong Kong merchants are no longer mainly dependent on the China market; while 5,000 men of the 40th Division staged (on March 17) the biggest parade ever held in the Far East by British forces.



THE first conference of colonial statisticians took place in London in the last month. Perhaps the most interesting part of their work lies in the unknown field of demography. Everyone knows the argument: population is expanding faster than food resources in the 'backward' parts of the earth. 'But,' said C. J. Martin, of the Nairobi office, 'it would appear that a high rate of increase is not yet in existence in the East African territories and that in certain areas the rate is low.' This bears out the monumental works of the late R. R. Kuczynski, who pointed out that disease, especially venereal disease, has sharply cut down natural increase. A case in point is the annual meningitis outbreak in Northern Nigeria, entirely unreported in Europe. Here 13,900 cases have come to light so far, with 2,366 deaths. Out from Nigeria also comes news of the success of diamino-diphenyl-sulphone, as an effective and cheap treatment for leprosy; while O. Ampofo and G. M. Findlay report from the Gold Coast that aureomycin may well replace penicillin as a treatment for yaws. This kind of news is too often ignored. Who knows, for instance, that 17 experts recently assembled for a week at Brazzaville to discuss rickets and other similar diseases in Africa? The full extent of medical research in the Colonies has recently been shown by a note on some of the studies undertaken by the Colonial Medical Service since 1930, with the bibliography alone running to 27 close-packed pages in small type.

POINTS



ONE country where medical and social action has led to vast and terrifying increases in numbers is Jamaica, whose population at the end of last year was 1,388,917, a net increase of 26,807 in one year, entirely caused by the excess of births over deaths. This in turn is almost entirely due to a decrease in infant mortality. (It matters little that illegitimate births formed 68.77 per cent of the whole.) It is not surprising after this to learn that one-fifth of the budget to Kingston St. Andrew (£119,845) will go this year on poor relief. What are we then to make of proposals at the Inter-Colonial Labour Conference in Guiana, for family allowances, unemployment insurance, and a minimum wage of £2 a day, for *unskilled* labour? A grave weight hangs on the so far largely ineffective Development and Welfare Organisation, to which Sir George Seel has just been appointed; and on the international Caribbean Commission, whose new *Caribbean Economic Review* will present fundamental information twice a year. For the rest, we learn that Trinidad has been endowed with a new glass factory (for 50 men), a new box factory (200) and a fresh drive in the hat industry (30 designers). Also that £2,500 is going to the salt industry at Prune Island in the Grenadines. It may not be a surprise that three American firms have applied for factory sites in Western Kingston, following the U.S. backing of textile mills, bauxite works, and film industry (Kingswood Films). The latter plans 12 pictures, of which the first two titles are *Sunken Treasure* and *I Seek Treasure*...



IN Africa, political interest has largely shifted from West to East. But we may record that the Western Development Board in Nigeria has granted £100,000 for a 16-square mile project at Ijebu, cocoa and palm plantations, a model village, a food farm. Of Iboland, little news, except that *Daybreak in Udi* has won an Oscar award in Hollywood. In the North, we are told, there were 4,270 mixed farmers in 1948 when twenty years earlier the number was three; while 3,000 cemented wells have been made since the war. One would like

to record the patient work on soil conservation at Shika, the demonstrations of super-phosphate pellets at the Government farm at Samaru, the success of the first farm show in the Anchau resettlement area. In the Gold Coast, apart from constitutional arrangements, the news is of the Volta survey, and the mechanised farm scheme near Damongo in the Northern Territories. The scale of this work on agriculture, all unheralded, is shown by arrangements for regrading cocoa, which involve 5,000 large posters, 25,000 smaller ones, 200,000 booklets, and 155 special display boards at the main buying centres. In East Africa, apart from the struggle over the Tanganyika constitution, the new proposals for the Kenya registration scheme are for a test in English, with a sponsor, photographs, and changes of address notified; as for the African *kipande*, now abolished, rural workers now apparently want it back. In Nairobi, A. O. Ndisi, who was trained in Ruskin College, has broken with the Trade Union Congress, which, he says, is dominated by Indian Communists in contact with the World Federation of Trade Unions. Happier news is of the grant of £1,100,000 to Makerere, now a full university college, and the opening by the Sultan of Zanzibar of a new Arab Secondary School at Mombasa, to be linked with the vocational Moslem Institute. There are also encouraging reports of the Chagga Coffee Co-operative, which made £300,000 in 1947-48; and of the ambitious Zande scheme in the Southern Sudan, planned around a new cotton industry, under which 70 per cent of a people of 180,000 have already been resettled, over a wide area of 20,000 square miles of undulating plateau.



IT is pleasant to be able to end with the jubilee of the Queen of the Friendly Islands, Queen Salote Tupou of Tonga. Queen Salote (Charlotte) is very large (over 6 feet) and her islands very small, but by all accounts very contented, after a brief experience of a political-ism, in their case Wesleyanism, which led to wars and bloodshed, proving as usual, that power requires very little ideological disguise to mask the ambitions of men.

COLONIAL OPINION...

Somalis Feel 'Betrayed' by Britain

On April 1 Britain formally handed over her powers in ex-Italian Somaliland to Italy, under the ten-year trusteeship granted to Italy by the United Nations. In August, 1949, the Somali Youth League issued the following statement of policy:—

Full and complete independence immediately for our country—Somalia; or direct United Nations trusteeship; collective administration or alternatively single administration under the supervision of UNO; the union of Somalia with other Somali territories—British Somaliland, the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, French Somaliland and Ethiopian Somaliland—to form one political, administrative, social and economic unit; opposition in any kind of trusteeship to Italian rule or partnership in any shape or form; period of trusteeship not to exceed in any way and for any reason the maximum of ten years; gradual 'Somalisation' of the Administration whereby, as far as possible, employment and training should be given to Somalis to hold responsible posts leading them to full and complete independence.

Comments on the return of the Italians are given in a recent report:—

On the question of Italian administration under UNO trusteeship—soon to be an established fact—the local leaders declared: 'It was the change of British policy in 1948 which permitted the Italians to come here. We have been let down very badly. Britain, more than any other country, knew our feelings and knew that the Italians were not wanted here.

Britain—not UNO—is bringing the Italians here. We have been sacrificed by Britain in the hope that it might prevent Italy becoming Communist. It is something Somalia will not forget—or forgive—for centuries.'

East African Standard, February 10, 1950.

Manley on Federation Report

West Indian politicians are now considering the Report of the British Caribbean Standing Closer Association Committee (see Venture, April, 1950, page 2). Strong comment comes from Mr. Norman Manley, leader of the People's National Party, Jamaica.

Mr. Manley said: 'It begins with brave and big words, and goes on to timid and puny performance. I cannot pretend to like it, and I positively dislike what it implies. It was perhaps too much to hope the Committee would have found it possible to agree on a constitution that came anywhere near a self-governing federation, let alone, Dominion status. . . These proposals are not a short path to political independence. They do not represent for the federation a constitution as advanced as we in Jamaica hope to find for ourselves before too many months have passed.

The proposals are not satisfactory, but we should stand on them as definite and concrete proposals carefully reasoned, and use them as a basis to demand constitutional improvements.'

The Beacon, Barbados, March 18, 1950.

Turtles, Ducks and Federation

An African viewpoint on Central African Federation was aptly put in the form of a Barotse tale by Mr. Nelson Nalumbo during a debate in the Legislative Council.

'There were two ducks who lived in a pond,' said Mr. Nalumbo. 'They found a turtle living there too and they made friends with him. One day they found that the pond was getting dry. They planned to go to another place where they could find good water. But they did not like to leave their friend the turtle who could not fly. So they formed a plan to carry him with them. They got a stick and each of them put the stick in his beak, each gripping one end of the stick, and told their friend the turtle to hang on to the middle of the stick. Off they went until they passed over a village. The children of this village shouted and laughed when they saw this strange sight, which made the turtle very angry. He wanted to rebuke them, and as he opened his mouth to speak, he fell to the ground and crashed to pieces, and that was the end of him.'

'This story,' concluded Mr. Nalumbo, 'makes us fear Federation, Amalgamation and Responsible Government until such time as we are able to fly together with our European leaders.'

Mutende, N. Rhodesia, December 12, 1949.

Riposte from Dr. Danquah

I have noted quite recently that the Chief Commissioner of the Colony made at Dodowa an unprovoked attack against the many patriotic sons of this soil, who, without receiving any monthly vouchers in payment for their political work, have succeeded to bring the country together to ask for the Government to be changed for a better government. It was surprising to learn that the country's politicians were referred to as 'professional politicians.' I am, afraid, sir, that the boot is on the other leg. In the King's English, a 'professional' is a person who is paid for his job. The only politicians who are paid for their jobs in this country are the political officers. And it is obvious that they are professional politicians. If they don't know it, then they don't know their jobs.—
From a speech in the Gold Coast Legislative Council.

Ghana Statesman, March 3, 1950.

CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN

In East, Central and South Africa Britain is being faced with a challenge on the whole future of territories for which Britain is responsible. South Africa's demand for the High Commission Territories, the storm over the Tanganyika constitution, the gathering together of Europeans on a 'common colour platform'—these are fundamental issues. The June number of "Venture" will be a special number devoted entirely to this challenge.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONGO

THE announcement of a ten-year plan of colonial expansion for the Belgian Congo at an estimated cost of £350m. for the purposes of increasing mineral production, through Belgian private capital, has emphasised the different approach of the European Powers in their long-term policies of political and economic development.

Belgium, to a far greater extent than Britain or France, has concentrated on highly-developed industry in the Congo and has been less aware of the breaking down of indigenous institutions in the process. Politically, there has been no preparation for self-government and a social, though not an economic colour bar, is accepted.

*The New Congo*¹, by an American writer, gives a vivid account of the history and present-day life in this enormous territory. In the last century, Belgium had no wish to become a colonial power: the rôle was forced upon her by the activities of Leopold II, who found his small country too limited for his active, ambitious temperament. Leopold spent his private fortune on the exploration of the Congo, originally opened up by British explorers, and when he died, he bequeathed his adventure to the Belgian people. Owing to Leopold's granting of millions of acres to uncontrolled concessionaires, a world-wide scandal arose against the atrocities committed against the Africans forced to work on the rubber estates and in the mines. When Belgium annexed the Congo in 1908 and became responsible for the administration, the Congo Free State was only fifteen years old.

From the beginning, pressure on Belgian policy came from two influential groups, the directors of enormous capitalist companies and the Catholic Church. To-day the octopus concern, the Union Minière of Katanga, contributes more than one thousand million Congo francs to the colonial Treasury, about one-quarter of the total budget of the country. These pressure groups have influenced Belgian policy, which has never claimed originality. It has been inspired by development in other territories, an adapting of the experience of other colonial Powers within the framework of the realities of the Congo situation, the dominance of industry and the vital Catholic activity of the Belgian people. Their administration has been efficient and painstaking rather than imaginative. Belgium has no parallel to the British conception of a commonwealth of free peoples, or to the dream of the French Union. And perhaps, because the Belgian people never consciously sought colonial power and because they do not feel responsible for the atrocities committed by the Congo Free State before 1908, they have nothing of the guilt complex of the British people in their attitude to colonial affairs.

With this background to Belgian policy, we turn to the implementation of these concepts in the Congo. Firstly, we find power centralised in Brussels, with only limited functions allowed to the Governor-General—historically, a survival from the pre-1908 period of abuse. The theory is that local power cannot be granted until the indigenous peoples are ready to take their part in the governing. The weakness of this theory is seen on the spot by Tom Marvel, who writes in his last chapter, *The Tasks Ahead*, that the future of the New Congo lies in the working out of the position of the educated Africans—the 'évolués'—and the education of women, which has hardly been tackled.

The Belgians claim that there is no colour bar in the political or legal sense. Tom Marvel, who is an American, adds that the correct interpretation of that claim should be that, by contrast with South Africa, there is no occupational bar, but 'socially, the black man is as unacceptable as he is in the United States. Yet there is less Jim Crowism in the Congo than in the United States, despite the fact that natives are rigorously segregated; this is because of the one supreme advantage which the Congo native enjoys over the American negro: he is at home.' It is the educated native who is most conscious of the colour bar. Slowly, the Belgians are introducing special railway carriages and housing projects for the évolués.

Unlike the British, the Belgians do not encourage university education, and are definitely against Africans being educated in Belgium, owing to the gulf in culture. They have achieved outstanding success in vocational training, through the assistance of the enlightened self-interest of the capitalist companies and the educational work of the Catholic Church. Education is in primary schools, in the vernacular, and in 1948 nearly one million children out of a population of 11 million were at some type of school, many very rudimentary.

Achievements of Capitalism

The dramatic content of Belgian colonial development is seen in the province of Katanga, once a desolate, semi-barren land, now transformed by the Union Minière through the mining of copper. This gigantic monopoly has added a number of subsidiary companies—for the generating of electricity, the supply of water, the manufacture of chemicals, the building of European and native housing, of hospitals, schools and clubs—the deliberate creation of the city of Elisabethville with the amenities of a European city. Everything possible has been planned to change the nomadic pagan Bantu into a settled Catholic industrial worker. The taking care of the children of the workers, the domestic training of the mothers, the inculcation of pride in the home, are all directed towards the end of producing a contented and permanent labour force, both now and in the next generation.

Forminière, the controlling company of the diamond industry, reflects the organisation of the Union Minière, with the addition of a compound at Tshikapa, reminiscent of Johannesburg, a 'model prison' in the words of the author. Volunteers are not lacking for the diamond mining, as the African bachelors hope to earn the price of a bride.

What of the future? In the space of 50 years, the industrialists and the Church have brought parts of the Congo from a primitive slave-ridden existence to a highly-developed industrial civilisation, side by side with a steady penetration of bush life. The introduction of cash crops such as tobacco, cinchona, pyrethrum, and the exploitation of the timber resources have disrupted the tribal life of the Bantus. The tearing away of the African's belief in his ancient gods and animism, the substitution of a new religion, may well have undermined his moral integrity. How far he can accommodate himself to a settled Christian life is a question mark.

There is no sign of political unrest, no striving towards self-government on the pattern of the British West African colonies. But the small emerging class of educated Africans will inevitably challenge the rule of the Chiefs and in turn the strict paternalism of Brussels.

¹ *The New Congo*, by Tom Marvel, Macdonald, 15s.

Guide to Books

The Nigerian Political Evolution

By T. M. Uzo. (Olympian Publishing Bureau. 2s. 6d. Obtainable from C.M.S. Bookshop, Lagos, Nigeria.)

Economic Development of West Africa

By J. O. Ajibola. (West African Society. 2s. 6d. Obtainable from W.A.S.U., 13, Chelsea Embankment, London, S.W.1.)

Both of these pamphlets, written by Nigerians, deal with the problems of development in an economically backward country. One part of Mr. Ajibola's pamphlet which will be of real use on the spot is the section dealing with the legal basis of companies, methods of preventing fraud, etc., which still require to be learnt. But on the problem of capital investment he has little to say, except in the case of small-scale enterprises in secondary industries where private capital can be subscribed locally. The Colonial Governments, he suggests, should assist 'the companies formed by Africans to get necessary machines,' 'the Government can assist in producing trained men,' 'the Government should open up the country more for trade by a network of railways and motor routes,' the Government can help 'by establishing experimental units to demonstrate to the farmers the modern methods of farming.' Where the West African Governments are to obtain the revenue for this expenditure is not explained, for there is no section on taxation policy, and foreign investment is not adequately tackled. Mr. Ajibola, quite rightly, views foreign companies with a weather eye, but he does not make clear whether he wants outside investments, and if so, what profits the investors should be allowed to make, though he states clearly that *Africans* will not enter into trade unless they see the chance of making profits. He does see, however, that the West African Governments are already doing many of the things he wants them to do, though he does not assess the use of Colonial Development and Welfare grants or the work of the produce marketing boards, though these are mentioned.

Mr. Uzo's pamphlet has been inspired by Nigeria's constitution-making discussions, with which he deals from what might be called a 'man-in-the-street' angle. He sees clearly the dangers of tribalism, and for this reason opposes the division of the country into linguistic provinces, as suggested by the N.C.N.C.'s *Freedom Charter*. He is equally opposed to the rigid regionalisation of the Richards Constitution, and hopes for a much more unitary state than Nigeria seems likely to be able to establish. On the practical needs in the building of a national movement he writes very good sense in an unsophisticated style directed at his fellow men-in-the-street and men-on-the-farm: 'We shall dip our buckets where we are, look the facts in the face and try to find their solution. . . Politics is not a science in the same sense as physics is. It does not work out by formula. . . You want for your tribe mass education, higher and technical education, hospitals, good roads and railways, post offices. . . Governors, some, or all of them, Nigerians, with perhaps paid legislative and executive representatives, secretariat, and so on, down to the messengers. Can you estimate what these essential services and the staff's salaries are likely to amount to yearly. . .? How does the expenditure . . . compare with the revenue raised by your tribe in taxes?'

These two pamphlets deserve to be read in West Africa. They form part of the large body of minor political writing now being built up as an essential part of the background to a developing national movement.

New Day

By Victor S. Reid. (Heinemann. 12s. 6d. 344 pages.)

In *New Day*, the political story of Jamaica is told through the eyes of John Campbell, the history of whose family is traced from the 1865 rebellion to November 20, 1944, the day when Jamaica was granted internal self-government. It is the first major book written in the Jamaican dialect, which derives in part from the English of an earlier day and in part from Welsh. The language is exceptionally musical. Listen, for instance, to this description of an approaching hurricane:—

'The wind is no' gentle longer. Great fistfuls of it are pounding at my face, pounding at the tossing trees, a-pound on the battened windows and doors. The heavy black clouds have come over us and ha' brought dark night and rain.

'Darkness, and sheets of water to wrap you from the darkness. You must feel your way through the darkness and listen for the crash that will mean a house or a tree is gone to the high wind. You must crawl your way on your hands and knees, for the high wind has come and man does no' rule the world longer.

'I hear a crash and get up in the darkness to try to run where I heard the sound. But I am over and eating sand. Down on your hands and knees. Man! Stronger, you are stronger than a tree? Why, darkness and the winds of God were on the earth from the first day, and the trees o' God were on the earth on the third day, and you, Man, did no' come until the last day before he tired and rested on the seventh. Then stronger than a tree you could be?'

Mr. Reid writes brilliantly of the Jamaican scene, painting his panorama in bold colours. If this is an example of the vivid writing that the Caribbean can conceive, we shall look forward eagerly and confidently to the cultural 'New Day' that is at hand.

Public Opinion and Government. By David Kimble.

New Industries. By Kenneth Baldwin. Text illustrations by E. Asihene. (Bureau of Current Affairs, London and Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University College of the Gold Coast. 7d. each.) Two more discussion pamphlets in the West African Affairs series intended for adult classes.

The Commonwealth of Nations. (H.M.S.O. 3d.)

A catalogue of publications, films, lecture services, maps, exhibitions and lantern slides about the Commonwealth available to schools and to the public. Prepared by the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Central Office of Information. Covers the new Asiatic members of the Commonwealth as well as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, and also includes Southern Rhodesia and the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

Parliament

Proposed joint committee for East and Central Africa. Mr. John Hynd asked the Secretary of State whether he was aware that a motion for the creation of a Joint Consultative Committee of the East African Central Assembly and the Central African Council had been passed in the East African Central Assembly against the expressed objections of all the Indian and African members; whether he had received any appeal against this decision; and what action he proposed to take. The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr. John Dugdale, said that the Secretary of State was aware of the motion. In accordance with an assurance given during the debate on the motion the views then expressed by all the members of the East African Central Legislative Assembly had been communicated to him and would receive careful consideration. No other correspondence on the subject had reached him, but he understood that the East African High Commission would ascertain the views of the Central African Council on the proposal and it would be premature for the matter to be considered until those views were known. In a supplementary question, Mr. Hynd asked whether the Minister of State would bear in mind, in considering this situation, that whatever might be the obvious technical advantages of any such consultative steps there were very serious political implications involved. Would an assurance be given that these would receive the fullest consideration? Mr. Dugdale gave that assurance. (March 15.)

Constitutional changes in Tanganyika. Mr. Hynd and Mr. Sorensen both asked for information on the objections of European settlers to the proposed constitutional changes and what progress had been made by the unofficial committee of the Legislative Council set up to study the problem. Mr. Dugdale replied that confidential suggestions to a committee composed of all the unofficial members of the Legislative Council had become publicly known in East Africa. They were designed to secure a more representative method of selecting the unofficial members of the Legislative Council; the joint arrangements for selecting European and Asian members had met with objections from the European community. The committee appointed had a completely free hand and had decided not to accept the Government-sponsored memorandum as a basis for discussion. Mr. Dugdale promised a further statement when the Report of the Committee was received, and in a reply to a supplementary said that there was no question of bowing to settler threats. (March 15.)

Social Development in Bechuanaland. In reply to Mr. Sorensen, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said that the ordinary revenue of the Protectorate was under half a million pounds per annum but the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund had made a grant of over one million. The grants were being used for the development of water supplies, the most urgent need, control of the tsetse fly in the north-west, the extension of livestock and agricultural services, and the improvement of roads and medical and educational services. £98,000 had been granted for a geological survey to investigate the mineral resources. It was hoped to investigate the possibilities of controlling and using the waters of the Okovango Delta in the north, which, if successful, would be a great advantage. The Colonial Development Corporation was investigating large-scale cattle ranching and cold storage projects which might prove of great benefit. The total expenditure on educa-

tion had increased from £22,000 in 1939 to £60,000 in 1948. African teachers had increased by 200, and primary schools by 15, and two secondary schools had been set up. Medical expenditure during the last ten years had increased from £31,000 to £60,000 a year. Considerable progress had been made in the preventive field and trained staff were undertaking active measures to prevent and control malaria, sleeping sickness, plague and small-pox. (March 23.)

Prime Minister's Statement on Malaya. Mr. Attlee said: 'I gave a clear statement of His Majesty's Government's policy to the House on April 13 last, and it is our firm intention to implement the policy which I then affirmed of steady democratic progress towards self-government within the Commonwealth. We shall not be diverted from that policy and have no intention of relinquishing our responsibility for the defence of Malaya and the protection of its law-abiding peoples by all means at our disposal.' (March 28.)

Students at Colonial Universities. Mr. Rankin asked Mr. Griffiths how many students, private and with scholarships, were attending the new colonial universities in West Africa, East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies. In reply, Mr. Griffiths said that there were 295 students at University College, Ibadan, in Nigeria, and 120 at the University College of the Gold Coast. In East Africa, there were 222 students at Makerere College. The University of Malaya had 601 students and the University College of the West Indies, 74. Separate totals for students with scholarships and private students were not in his possession, but the latter formed a small minority: almost all the students' courses were financed by their Governments. (March 29.)

Colonial Students in the United Kingdom. Mr. Rankin asked how many colonial students were studying in this country, how many were private students, how many had been granted scholarships, and what were the comparable figures for the preceding five years. In reply, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. James Griffiths, gave the following figures:—

	Total	Scholars	Private
1949-50	4,014	1,518	2,496
1948-49	3,493	1,390	2,103
1947-48	3,261	1,350	1,911
1946-47	2,262	897	1,365
1945-46	1,188	396	792

(March 29.)

Uganda: Hydro-electricity Scheme. Mr. John Hynd asked Mr. Griffiths whether he would make a statement on the progress to date of the Uganda hydro-electric development scheme; and the prospects of the development of the various new industries that were dependent on the scheme. In reply, Mr. Griffiths said that the contract for the erection of a dam and a hydro-electrical station at Jinja was placed in September, 1949, and preliminary work on the site had now begun. It was too early to give a detailed forecast of industrial development in the Jinja area, but projects for the manufacture of cotton textiles, fertilisers, paper, building materials and iron and steel were being considered. A cement factory had already been started at Tororo and would eventually draw its power from the Jinja area. (March 29.)

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CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Sir,—I have been re-reading the official Labour Party Post-War Policy for the African and Pacific Colonies (in the pamphlet *The Colonies*, published in March, 1943), and I have been most distressed to observe how far the British Government has digressed from the strongly liberal policy outlined in that publication. There have been Britain's support of South Africa in UNO; the surrender over equal representation in the East African Assembly; the support of Italy over the Somaliland question; and the partly-justified but far too sweeping repudiation of UNO interference in our Trustee administrations. When the announcement of the appointment of a British High Commissioner to Southern Rhodesia was made recently, the Government felt it necessary to add a rider to the effect that the appointment did nothing to prejudice present or future arrangements for direct contact between the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In areas where there is a European minority, the pamphlet says, 'an elected majority in the Legislative Council or "responsible government" should not be introduced unless and until the natives can be given the franchise on the same terms as the European.' But surely *unofficial* majorities have been introduced in Kenya and N. Rhodesia since the Labour Government came into power? While this is not the same thing as an elected majority, it is a substantial step towards it. There may be arguments in favour of what was done, but this seems to me a step in the wrong direction. The pamphlet states 'All restrictions on the right to own, buy, lease or sell land on racial grounds (other than restrictions devised to protect the Natives as backward peoples) must be abolished,' and 'state funds shall not be granted to any school entry to which is restricted upon racial grounds.' Yet Kenya goes on as before.

I believe that one of these mistakes by itself might not have caused much disquiet among the African peoples. It is only when they are taken together that they indicate a perilous trend. You may be thinking 'this man is expecting us to achieve rather a lot in five years.' But this is not the intention of my complaint at all. Allowance must be made for time in which to make policy effective. My complaint is that the Labour Party, having decided upon the right course to pursue in a number of instances has now definitely departed from it and is following quite other and wrong policies. Small wonder many Africans are turning away from faith in the British Empire

towards the poisonous doctrines of international Communism.

Yours faithfully,

Hassocks, Sussex.

John H. Lodge.

[Britain proposed in 1946 that British and Italian Somaliland should be united under British trusteeship, and resisted the return to Italy in the United Nations as long as possible.—Ed.]

Activities of the Bureau

Bureau Advisory Committee

The Bureau's Advisory Committee has been reconstituted following the General Election. Some of the most devoted members of the Committee lost their seats in Parliament and in some cases their new work no longer allows them to serve on the Committee. At its first meeting after the Election the new Committee thanked the retiring members and regretted the necessity for their resignation. The following new members have joined the Committee: Lord Listowel, Mr. Tom Driberg, M.P., Mr. James Johnson, M.P., Mr. H. W. Wallace, M.P., and Mr. Carol Johnson.

★ ★ ★

Meeting with Dr. Lowdermilk

A joint meeting of the Colonial Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Bureau Advisory Committee was held in the House of Commons on March 20 and addressed by Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk, technical consultant to the Agricultural Missions Inc. of New York. Dr. Lowdermilk gave an account of his tour through British Africa studying problems of soil erosion. His audience greatly appreciated his wealth of knowledge and the forthrightness with which he expressed his views, though they did not agree with his political conclusions.

★ ★ ★

New Publication

Local Government and the Colonies is now available (see page 5). The book discusses the broad aspects of local government in Britain and in the Colonies, and describes the structure of local government in Jamaica, British Guiana, Mauritius, the Gold Coast, Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The final chapter deals with problems of future policy.

For Reference

May, 1950

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